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Source: *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Mar., 2002, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Mar., 2002), pp. 69-95

Published by: Springer

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Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory, Vol. 9, No. 1, March 2002 (© 2002)

Hohokam Craft Economies and the Materialization of Power[1]

James M. Bayman[2]

The Prestige Goods Economy Model invoked by archaeologists to explain the development of power in middle-range societies generally fails to discriminate the varied roles of social valuables. This study illustrates a multi-faceted approach for identifying the symbolic utility of craft economies among the Hohokam in North America. Contextual analyses of marine shell artifacts disclose their functions as material symbols of group membership and identity, ritual performance paraphernalia, instruments of power, and insignia of office. These valuables were imbued with ideological meanings that legitimized the emergence of corporate modes of power from individualized networks. Applications of the Prestige Goods Economy Model in other world regions would also be enriched by more detailed examination of the meanings of social valuables.

KEY WORDS: craft economy; prestige goods; power; archaeology.

INTRODUCTION

The monopolized control of social valuables is a cornerstone of many archaeological interpretations of political power in middle-range societies (e.g., Bradley, 2000; Brumfiel and Earle, 1987; Cobb, 1989; Ekholm, 1978; Frankenstein and Rowlands, 1978; Halstead and O'Shea, 1982; Peregrine, 1992). This perspective—often called the Prestige Goods Economy Model—was originally formulated by French Marxist anthropologists working in West Africa (Dupré and Rey, 1973; Meillassoux, 1978, 1981). Shortly thereafter, this theoretical framework was applied by several British (e.g., Frankenstein and Rowlands, 1978; Friedman and

[1]This paper was originally presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), in New Orleans, in a symposium entitled "Beyond a Prestige Goods Economy: Social Valuables, Power, and Agency."

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Rowlands, 1977) and American (e.g., Brown *et al.*, 1990; Earle, 1982; McGuire, 1989; Schortman and Urban, 1992) archaeologists in their interpretations of social inequality in preindustrial middle-range societies.

This paper illustrates an approach for refining the theoretical and empirical foundation of the Prestige Goods Economy Model by focusing on a Hohokam case study in the North American Southwest. The unrelenting intensity of archaeological research in Arizona has generated an exceptionally rich body of data for evaluating and refining theory that informs the interpretation of craft economies. A sizable sample of Hohokam sites has now been thoroughly investigated and reported from almost every sector of this tradition (Fig. 1). In almost every case, a wide array of craft materials has been recovered from well-documented archaeological contexts.

Recent applications of the Prestige Goods Economy Model in Hohokam archaeology confirm that most high-value crafts were *not* directly controlled by elites in the manner prescribed by neoevolutionary theory (Bayman, 1995, 1996; Harry and Bayman, 2000; cf. Nelson, 1991). No evidence exists for "attached specialization" (*sensu* Brumfiel and Earle, 1987) in Hohokam archaeology; nor is there evidence that prestige goods were unitary symbols of social status or political power (Bayman, 1999; Crown, 1991a). Although the Prestige Goods Economy Model offers an appealing approach to Hohokam archaeologists, the model's neo-Marxist origins offers a relatively narrow view of agency in the circulation and use of social valuables.

This particular study focuses on identifying the social and ideological contexts in which marine shell ornaments (*sensu* Hayden, 1999) were acquired and used in the Sonoran Desert of south-central Arizona, to clarify the nature of political power in Hohokam society (Fig. 2). Although certainly other craft economies could be examined, the distributions of Hohokam marine shell artifacts are exceptionally well-documented and empirical patterns from these studies (e.g., Bayman, 1996; Howard, 1993; Jernigan, 1978; McGuire and Howard, 1987; Nelson, 1991; Rice, 1998; Seymour, 1988; Teague, 1984a,b; Vokes, 1987, 1988) will be referenced throughout my discussion. In this vein, I examine their contexts of manufacture and use (*sensu* Flannery, 1976) to interpret their symbolic and ideological roles (*sensu* Hodder, 1982, 1991, p. 61) during the Pre-Classic and Classic Periods.

My contextual analysis of Hohokam marine shell artifacts indicates they were used for at least four different roles: (1) as material symbols of group membership and identity, (2) as ritual performance paraphernalia, (3) as instruments of power, and as (4) insignia of office (Fig. 3). Numerous lines of evidence imply that marine shell goods were imbued with ideological meanings that legitimized the emergence of corporate modes of power from individualized networks (*sensu* Blanton *et al.*, 1996; Feinman, 2000). Before this evidence is reviewed, I consider the relevance of the Prestige Goods Economy Model to archaeological interpretation, and provide a brief outline of Hohokam archaeology.

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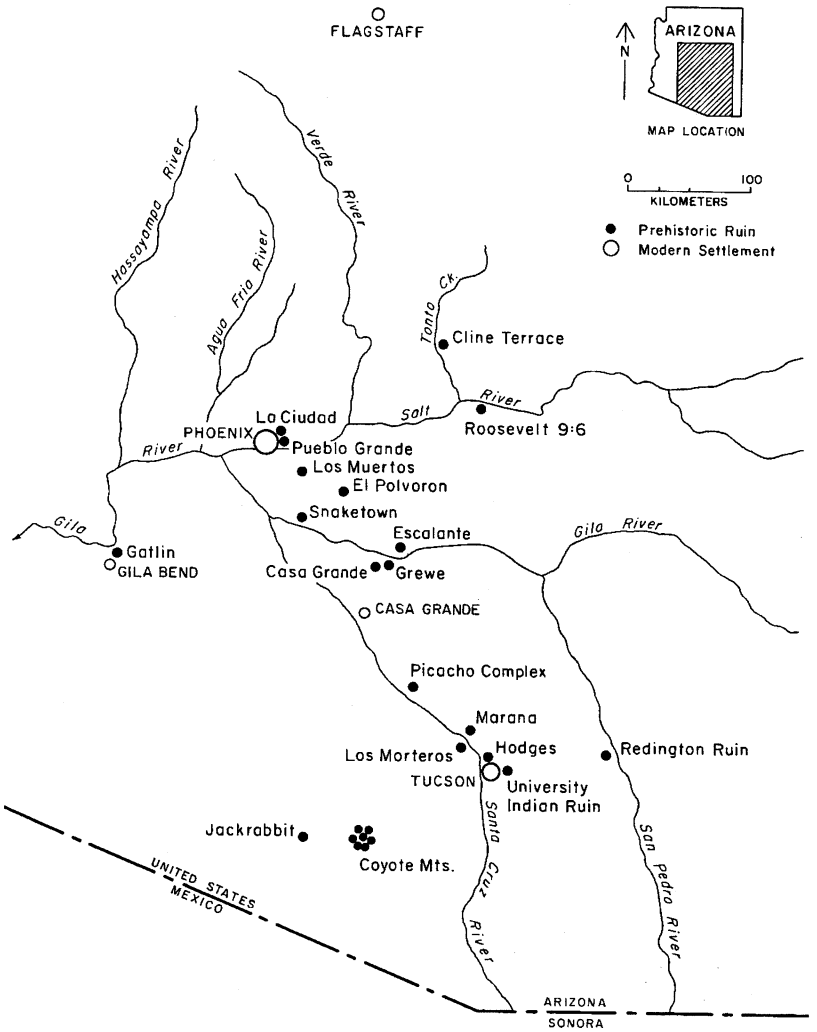

Fig. 1. Locations of selected Hohokam archaeological sites (adapted from Doyel, 1996, p. 47, Fig. 1).

PRESTIGE GOODS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

The Prestige Goods Economy Model assumes that prestige goods were necessary for social reproduction, and that political actors (i.e., usually senior males) acquired and maintained their power by controlling the circulation of valuables necessary for the payment of debt, damages, bride-price, and other ceremonial

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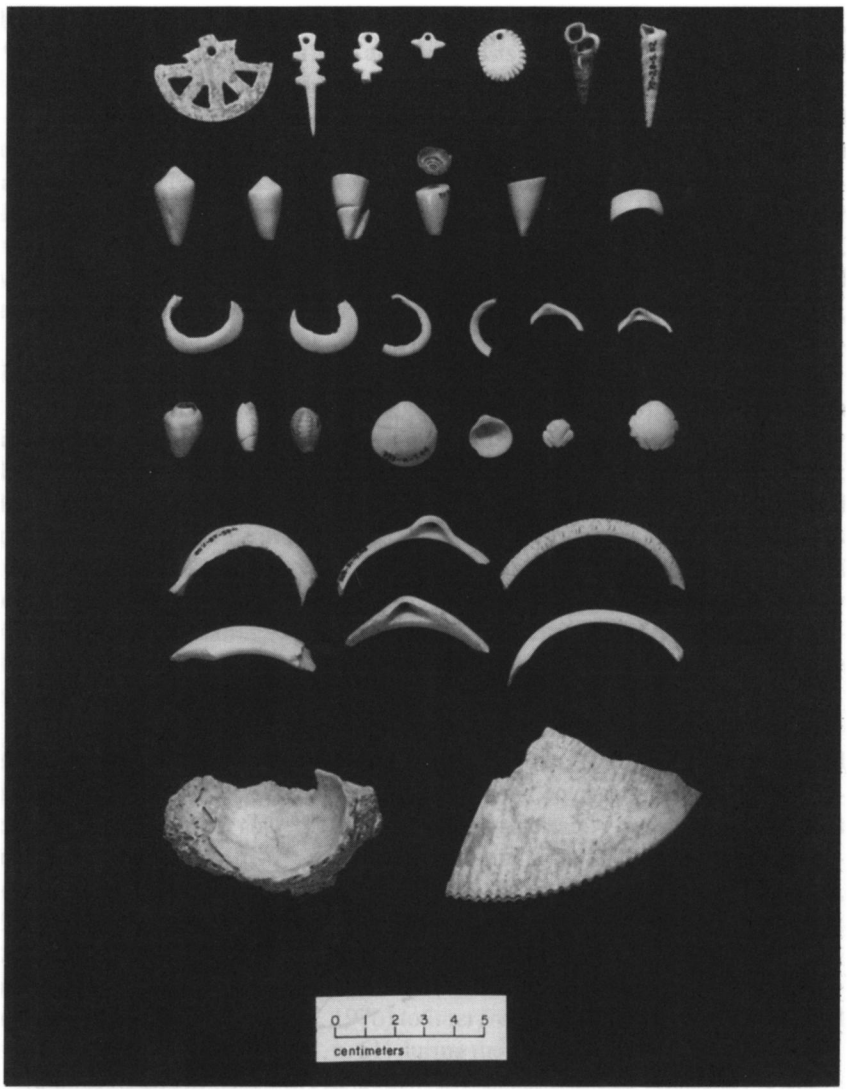

Fig. 2. Examples of Hohokam marine shell ornaments recovered from the Marana platform mound site.

functions. Regulating the production and circulation of lightweight, highly portable social valuables can be a more efficient political strategy than controlling the distribution of heavy and perishable "staples" (e.g., food), especially in societies lacking draft animals (Brumfiel and Earle, 1987, p. 6; Schneider, 1977, p. 21; cf. Malville, 2001).

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ORNAMENT TYPE	INFERRED SOCIAL ROLE	DOMINANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS	KEY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES	TYPICAL GENERA & SPECIES	SELECTED REFERENCES
Bracelet, armlet	Group membership & identity	Ubiquitous	Ubiquitous	*Glycymeris*	Nelson 1991:40, 73; Rice 1998:141-149; Vokes 1987:251
Tinker, bead, ring, pendant	Ritual performance paraphernalia	Classic platform mounds Burials (Pre-Classic & Classic)	Cline Terrace Marana Schoolhouse Point	*Conus*, *Glycymeris*, *Laevicardium*	Rice et al. 1998:129; Bayman, this paper Bradley and Rice, 1997:461
Trumpet	Instrument of power	Pre-Classic burials Mound 16 (Snaketown) Classic period platform mounds	Snaketown Grewe Casa Grande Los Muertos Cline Mesa Pillar site Marana	*Strombus galeatus* *Strombus gracilior* *Melongena patula* *Muricanthus* *Olivella incrassata*	Bostwick 1992:79; Bradley and Rice 1996:585 Griffith and McCartney, 1994:802, 1995:352 Jacobs 1992:49; Nelson 1991:69-70; Rice 1998:145-146; Vokes 1987:261
Vogdesi pendant, Turquoise mosaic pendant	Insignia of office	Pre-Classic burials Classic platform mounds & Great Houses	Snaketown Grewe Los Muertos Casa Grande	*Pecten vogdesi* *Glycymeris*, *Laevicardium*	Fewkes 1912; Nelson 1991:78-86; Wilcox 1991

Fig. 3. Major varieties of Hohokam marine shell ornaments.

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The intervention in prestige goods economies by emerging elites to create relations of dependency between themselves and their subordinates, through debt and obligation, has been documented cross-culturally (e.g., Mauss, 1954). Archaeologists now commonly refer to such elites as "individualizing aggrandizers" (Clark and Blake, 1994) or "competitive accumulators" (Hayden, 1995). Although ethnographic models of power that focus on prestige goods (e.g., Dye, 1995; Helms, 1976, 1993) offer archaeologists a valuable heuristic device for exploring past political economies (e.g., Arnold, 1992; Earle, 1982), current applications of this often approach suffer from several interpretive weaknesses (Bradley, 2000, pp. 173–174; Douglas, 2000, pp. 199–200; Saitta, 2000, pp. 152–155).

Perhaps first and foremost, archaeological models of prestige goods economies often fail to discriminate among the highly variable meanings and roles that social valuables held in complex nonstate societies (Cobb, 1993, p. 64, 1996, p. 256). Archaeologists often conflate goods that circulated in markedly different social spheres, such as elite versus commoner, and that were used for different purposes (e.g., status markers versus bride-price), into a monolithic analytical category referred to as "prestige goods" (Cobb, 1996, p. 260). Some studies, moreover, combine multiple categories of social valuables to overcome the small sample sizes of rare commodities. Studies of the spatial distribution of prestige goods in the archaeological record are often also confounded by the multilayered nature of elite-subordinate relationships that prevailed within many societies (Bradley, 2000, p. 180). Problems with equifinality further exacerbate the difficulty of distinguishing among the different social and economic mechanisms that generated the archaeological record of artifact distributions (see Renfrew, 1977).

These and other problems greatly hinder our ability to examine the different roles and meanings of prestige goods in legitimizing political power in middle-range societies (Hodder, 1991, p. 63). Identifying the specific economic processes by which surplus labor was extracted and deployed within past societies (Saitta, 1994, 1999) is necessary to understand the agencies of political action.

Since the recent demise of neoevolutionary formulations of sociopolitical development (Fish and Yoffee, 1996; Yoffee *et al.*, 1999), some archaeologists in North America have begun to focus on developing alternative models of power (e.g., Feinman, 2000; contributions in Mills, 1999; Trubitt, 2000). One approach that has garnered considerable attention is the "dual-processual" continuum of power, as it is construed by Blanton *et al.* (1996). Unlike traditional neoevolutionary theory (e.g., Service, 1971), dual-processual approaches do not assume a lock-step progression of social and political development. Nor is the character and development of social formations presumed to be governed by deterministic trajectories or universal principles, and dimensions of history and agency (commoner and elite) can easily be considered by this approach (cf. Pauketat, 2001, p. 84).

In a dual-processual model, strategies of political power in ancient societies may be characterized as falling between systems based on individualized

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"networks" and systems based on "corporate" groups. In the network strategy, individual agents acquire power by using prestige goods to build alliances. Once power is established it may be legitimized through ancestor worship within an exclusionary descent group.

Corporate strategies focus on the accumulation of group power that is shared by many—rather than a few—individuals. Corporate power is commonly materialized (*sensu* DeMarrais *et al.*, 1996) in communal architecture, rather than individual prestige. Corporate organization is *not*, however, synonymous with egalitarian organization (Feinman, 2000, p. 215). The examination of corporate entities by archaeologists does not diminish individual agency. Agency is also a process through which personhood and a sense of "groupness" is constructed, negotiated, and transformed (Dobres and Robb, 1997, p. 11; Wobst, 2000).

Finally, strategies embodied by the network/corporate continuum are not mutually exclusive, and indeed, many (if not most) societies contain elements of both (Feinman, 2000, p. 216). Below, a cursory review of the Hohokam tradition prefaces an in-depth discussion of craft economies and the materialization of power in the pre-Hispanic Sonoran Desert.

THE HOHOKAM TRADITION

The Hohokam archaeological record was generated by pottery-making sedentary farmers who occupied communities within a portion of the Sonoran Desert (Fig. 1) that sometimes exceeded 50,000 square miles of south-central Arizona in Southwestern North America (Crown, 1991b; Doyel, 1991, p. 226; Fish *et al.*, 1992; Haury, 1976; McGuire, 1991; Wilcox, 1979). Constructing the largest canal irrigation system north of Peru (Doolittle, 1990, pp. 79–81) enabled Hohokam society to sustain some of the largest human population aggregates in the pre-Hispanic Southwest. Although the inception of Hohokam identity remains to be clarified in chronological terms (Bayman, 2001, pp. 265–270), archaeologists agree that the florescence of the tradition took place between ca. A.D. 700 and A.D. 1450 (Fig. 4). Archaeologists have divided this florescence into two major periods: the Pre-Classic (ca. A.D. 700–1200) period and Classic (ca. A.D. 1200–1450) period (Fig. 4).

Hohokam population was most concentrated in settlements along the Salt and Gila Rivers in the Phoenix Basin, the "core" of the tradition. Communities in the Phoenix Basin comprised multiple villages and settlements that shared major canal segments (Doyel and Fish, 2000, pp. 18–20). The Hohokam also occupied settlements in a vast "periphery" along several perennial and nonperennial streams, including the Santa Cruz, the San Pedro, and the Tonto Basin, the Verde, the Agua Fria, and the Hassayampa (Fig. 1). The area south and west of Phoenix and Tucson, and north and east of the Gulf of California, is another periphery that is commonly referred to as the Papagueria. Settlements in the periphery relied on less intensive

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TIME FRAME	REGIONAL PERIODS USED IN THIS PAPER	CONVENTIONAL PERIODS		PHOENIX BASIN PHASE SEQUENCE (Dean 1991; Haury 1976)
AD 1450	POST-CLASSIC	Post-Classic		Polvoron
	CLASSIC	Classic	Late	Civano
			Early	Soho
AD 1200	PRE-CLASSIC	Sedentary		Sacaton
		Colonial		Santa Cruz
				Gila Butte
AD 700		Pioneer		Snaketown
				Sweetwater
				Estrella
				Vahki
	FORMATIVE			Red Mountain
AD 1				

Fig. 4. Hohokam chronology.

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modes of agriculture that were supplemented by foraging. Administrative centers of multisite communities were marked by monumental constructions, including ball courts and/or platform mounds and "Great Houses."

Pre-Classic Hohokam

Communal ideologies (*sensu* McGuire, 1992a, p. 142) in the Pre-Classic period were materialized in the construction and use of earthen ball courts and in a regional craft tradition (cf. Doyel, 1981, pp. 58–59). Local Hohokam communities adopted this ideology across a vast area of south-central Arizona (Wilcox and Sternberg, 1983). Hohokam ball courts provided a public venue for community-wide social, economic, and ritual activities, where high-value labor-intensive craft goods could be distributed and consumed. High-value goods in this tradition included marine shell ornaments, stylized projectile points, decorated ceramic vessels, copper bells, and turquoise beads and pendants. Carved stone bowls, censers, and fired-clay figurines of people and animals might also be included in the repertoire of Hohokam prestige goods. Access and consumption of many of these goods unified members of Hohokam society. Marine shell bracelets, for example, were widely distributed within the site of Snaketown and there is no indication that their use was socially restricted (Seymour, 1988).

However, differentially rich cemeteries and storage facilities at Snaketown and Grewe reveal that some individuals and groups were privileged over others with respect to select high-value goods (Nelson, 1991, p. 83). Copper bells and mosaic mirrors from Mesoamerica, and steatite effigy bowls, bone daggers, and *Pecten vogdesi* shell pendants were restricted to specific segments of Hohokam society (Nelson, 1991, pp. 83–84). Pendants made with *Pecten vogdesi* were fabricated using a whole valve of the bivalve shell. Perforations drilled near the hinge of each valve were almost certainly used to suspend the pendants on necklaces worn by elites. Nonetheless, the destruction of these and other high-value goods during mortuary rituals denied the permanence of such inequalities and restricted the accumulation of wealth across generations (McGuire, 1992a, pp. 205–206).

Communal performance rituals and/or games in ball courts were thus an important strategy for ameliorating the underlying social tensions that surely pervaded these communities. Competitive sports and related rituals (e.g., drinking, feasting, gambling, etc.) would have also reaffirmed community identity, and offered would-be elites the opportunity to gain higher status through sponsorship (Hill and Clark, 2001). The large ball courts at some Hohokam sites could have accommodated all of the adult members who wished to participate in their associated rituals (Wilcox and Sternberg, 1983, p. 184). Perhaps more importantly, Hohokam ball courts were not directly associated with any particular social group, leaving the arguable impression of an institution shared by, and for the benefit of, everyone in a community (McGuire, 2001, p. 39). Popular observance of intervillage ball court

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rituals (Wilcox and Sternberg, 1983, p. 184) thus mediated material inequalities by masking differences, albeit momentarily, among competing corporate lineages and other social groups within individual settlements (McGuire, 1992b; Preucel, 1996).

Classic Hohokam

Changes in the archaeological record of this region suggest that an elite ideology of social exclusion materialized in Hohokam society after A.D. 1200 (Bayman, 2001; Doyel, 1991, p. 262, Elson, 1998; Fish and Fish, 2000b, p. 380, 2000c; Wilcox, 1999, p. 138). The construction of platform mounds and Great Houses followed the abandonment of many ball court settlements and craft economies were reorganized. Residential occupation of platform mounds inside walled compounds signaled an unprecedented degree of social differentiation and control of surplus labor consumption (Wilcox and Shenk, 1977). Unlike the Pre-Classic period—when entire communities could witness public ball court activities—rituals during the Classic period were obscured from view by walled compounds and platform mounds. This new ideology underwrote institutions of power through individual agents who oversaw the venues of surplus labor consumption at public-corporate ceremonies held near platform mounds. Prestige goods, like marine shell ornaments and nonlocal ceramics and obsidian, were mobilized and used during public rituals, ceremonies, and feasts held in compounds that surrounded platform mounds and Great Houses (Bayman, 1995; Bayman and Shackley, 1997; Fish and Fish, 2000a; Preucel, 1996).

The Classic period witnessed a reorganization in the distribution and consumption of many craft economies. Shell ornament production, for example, was increasingly concentrated at platform mound community centers, rather than in areas of the periphery (i.e., Papagueria) closer to the Gulf of California where marine shell was readily available (e.g., McGuire and Howard, 1987). Moreover, platform mound community centers became nodal points for the importation and consumption of obsidian from an enlarged portion of the greater Southwest (e.g., Bayman and Shackley, 1999; Fish and Fish, 2000a). Perhaps ironically, although these goods were concentrated at platform mound settlements, they were widely distributed in domestic contexts within these locales (Bayman, 1995, 1996, 1999). This is a notable departure from Pre-Classic sites like Snaketown and Grewe, where certain high-value goods were seemingly restricted in their distributions, at least in mortuary contexts.

Some archaeologists argue that burials on or near earthen platform mounds, representing different age–grades and both sexes, indicated hereditary power and status among the Hohokam (e.g., Crown and Fish, 1996; Mitchell and Brunson-Hadley, 2001, p. 63). Claims to power through inheritance were almost certainly contested, however, since power was also rooted in "civic-territorial institutions" that were corporate in nature (Fish and Fish, 2000c, p. 167). In such a scenario,

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residential location and territorial longevity would have overridden kinship as an organizing principle in Hohokam society (Fish and Fish, 2000c). This practice implies that Hohokam marine shell ornaments, and other prestige goods, had roles different from those in societies with individualized networks of power.

ROLES OF HOHOKAM MARINE SHELL

Archaeological interpretations of Hohokam political organization are still confounded by the analytical conflation of multiple categories of social valuables that would have held highly varied meanings. Marine shell artifacts vividly illustrate this problem for several reasons. First, they comprise the most abundant high-value grave good category. Marine shell ornaments are ideal also for examining linkages between craft economies and political institutions because their geographic point of origin can be determined through species identification (e.g., Brand, 1938; Fewkes, 1896a; Tower, 1947), evidence of on-site manufacture has been documented at multiple archaeological sites (e.g., Gifford, 1946; Huckell and Huckell, 1979), and we can examine their differential distributions across different archaeological contexts (e.g., Bayman, 1996, p. 403; Kisselburg, 1987; Teague, 1984a).

Moreover, a large number of marine shell ornament assemblages have been thoroughly analyzed and well-documented in Hohokam archaeology (e.g., Bayman, 1996; Howard, 1993; McGuire and Howard, 1987; Nelson, 1991; Seymour, 1988; Vokes, 1995). Hohokam artisans used no fewer than 43 genera and 62 species of marine shell to fabricate a rich variety of ornaments and goods (Nelson, 1991, pp. 16–17, Table 2-1).

Contextual analyses suggest that Hohokam marine shell goods were used for at least four different purposes: (1) as material symbols of group membership and identity, (2) as ritual performance paraphernalia, (3) as instruments of institutionalized power, and (4) as insignia of office. Of course, these roles and meanings were not always mutually exclusive or immutable in Hohokam society.

The roles of shell trumpets, for example, changed between the Pre-Classic and Classic periods. These instruments were a dynamic dimension of Hohokam history and agency. Similarly, social meanings embodied in shell bracelets made them susceptible to manipulation by those who wished to dominate and unify, as well as those who sought to resist. In the remainder of my discussion below, I examine contextual evidence for these different roles and their linkages to the materialization of power.

Group Membership and Identity

The varied meanings of marine shell left robust signatures in the Hohokam archaeological record. Shell bracelets and armlets, for example, functioned as

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material symbols of membership (*sensu* Schortman *et al.*, 2001, p. 325; Wobst, 2000, p. 47, 1999, pp. 120–122) in Hohokam society, rather than "low value" forms of personal ornamentation, as proposed by Haury (1976, p. 321). Haury's conclusion that shell bracelets were low in value reflects a Formalist economic perspective that diminishes the social meanings inherent in human ornamentation (Haury, 1976, p. 321). In my view, their pervasive "commonness" is actually symptomatic of their importance in Hohokam society. Marine shell ornaments are ubiquitous in the Sonoran Desert archaeological record, where they were routinely discarded in a variety of sacred and profane contexts. These contexts include domestic house floors, refuse accumulations, and burials; small sites and big sites, and sites with and without monumental buildings (e.g., Nelson, 1991, pp. 40–43, 76–77; Seymour, 1988; Vokes, 1988).

Distinctive technological traditions for making marine shell bracelets developed among communities across different geographic areas of the greater North American Southwest (Jernigan, 1978, p. 207). The technological style (*sensu* Dietler and Herich, 1998) of Hohokam shell ornament manufacturing distinguished them from neighboring populations, like the Trincheras in northern Mexico (e.g., McGuire and Villapando, 1993, p. 65) and the Patayan in far western Arizona and eastern California. For example, Trincheras artisans used a cut-and-punch method to remove the interior of *Glycymeris* shells (Johnson, 1960, p. 179), whereas Hohokam artisans abraded small holes near the center of individual valves and chipped their margins into large openings which were rounded and polished (Bayman, 1996, p. 409; Haury, 1976, p. 306; Vokes, 1988, p. 375). The area of the shell called the umbo (where the shells of a bivalve are hinged to one another) was sometimes perforated with small holes by Hohokam artisans, perhaps for suspending the shell from a necklace or article of clothing.

In some instances, Hohokam bracelets were decorated with incisions, carving, inlaying, and/or painting (Nelson, 1991, p. 43). The major motifs of decorated bracelets/armlets are unmistakably Mesoamerican in style (Haury, 1976; Nelson, 1991, pp. 41–42). While motifs include frogs, birds, and rattlesnakes, as well as geometric or abstract designs, rattlesnakes are the most common (Jernigan, 1978, pp. 61–72). Serpent iconography is closely associated with water-agricultural-fertility symbolism throughout Mesoamerica and the North America Southwest and Southeast (Cobb *et al.*, 1999, p. 177). Although eagles and other raptors are generally associated with warfare in Mexican iconography (Cobb *et al.*, 1999, p. 177), waterfowl are more common on Hohokam bracelets and armlets.

With a few notable exceptions, like the site of Snaketown (Seymour, 1988; Seymour and Schiffer, 1987), undecorated *Glycymeris* bracelets were most intensively manufactured in the Pre-Classic period at settlements relatively near the Gulf of California in northern Mexico (e.g., Howard, 1993; McGuire and Howard, 1987). Although bracelets were generally manufactured at sites in the Papagueria, nearer the Gulf, finished ornaments were widely used and discarded throughout

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the Hohokam regional system. Their widespread distribution in mortuary and nonmortuary contexts indicates their social significance in Sonoran Desert society. The majority of Hohokam marine shell was acquired from the Gulf of California in northern Mexico, through either direct procurement or some form of down-the-line exchange across the Papagueria (e.g., Doelle, 1980). Since a resident population likely inhabited the Papagueria during Pre-Classic period, direct procurement was probably more common during the Classic period.

The historic period Tohono O'odham (formerly Papago) provide clues on possible motives behind Hohokam journeys to the Gulf of California to gather salt, and perhaps procure marine shell. Tohono O'odham legends recall journeys to the Gulf by young men to acquire "Ocean Power" and salt, a vital resource (Underhill, 1938, pp. 111–133). Bringing forth rain was another (hoped for) outcome of this ritual. These legends also illuminate the nature of gender relations with respect to this endeavor. During their journeys, young men avoided using materials that might have been in contact with pregnant woman or menstruating women (Underhill, 1938, pp. 112–113).

Distributions of prehistoric foot trails, petroglyphs, and archaeological sites with marine shell artifact concentrations in the Papagueria suggests that Hohokam males followed the same arduous route of 200+ linear kilometers (Hayden, 1972; McGuire and Howard, 1987; Schiffer and McGuire, 1982). Whether they practiced taboos like the avoidance of menstruating females while acquiring marine shell for fabricating ornaments is unknown, but has been suggested (see Spielmann, 2000, pp. 357–358). This "avoidance" taboo could have naturalized male intervention in the marine shell craft economy, much like "Ocean Power," would have naturalized salt-gathering journeys for historic Tohono O'odham males. Together, these data illustrate the possible roles of Hohokam males in securing the material symbols of membership in a multicultural regional society.

Research on Classic period craft economies reveals that, although *Glycymeris* bracelets were still widely used in Hohokam society, their production was increasingly concentrated at platform mound settlements after A.D. 1200 (Bayman, 1996; McGuire and Howard, 1987; Nelson, 1991). This pattern likely indicates strong intervention by elites in the material symbols of membership and identity in Hohokam society. Evidence for increased morphological standardization of marine shell bracelets (Neitzel, 1991) during the Classic period illustrates another potential dimension of control over social membership and identity. Although this uniformity across bracelets certainly signals some level of craft specialization, there is no indication that it was "attached" (*sensu* Brumfiel and Earle, 1987) directly to elites (Bayman, 1999, 2001).

Increased restrictions on (or resistance to?) membership in Hohokam society is also indicated by a geographic contraction of the Hohokam regional system. Some communities that once participated in this southern desert tradition were excluded from (or chose to leave) Classic period society, such as the Flagstaff and

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Verde Valley areas north of Phoenix. Territories south of Phoenix and near Tucson abandoned their ball court villages and many no longer participated in Hohokam society following the onset of the Classic period (Doyel, 2000, p. 124). In contrast, so-called "Salado" communities in the Tonto Basin (east of Phoenix) and the San Pedro Valley joined a reconstituted Classic period Hohokam society (see Turner, 1998, pp. 185–190), by adopting and modifying ideologies materialized in platform mound ritual and shell bracelets/armlets.

Male involvement in the marine shell craft economy evidently signaled an emerging difference in the sources of power between women and men. While these differences were already underway during the Pre-Classic period, they apparently intensified in the subsequent Classic period. Crown (2000, p. 36) and others (e.g., Crown and Fish, 1996) have noted that Hohokam females were often buried with utilitarian implements, whereas males were often buried with ritual items and ornaments, including marine shell. Although *Glycymeris* shell bracelets were deposited in both male and female burials, they are most abundant in male burials, and at least one male in a Classic Period burial was also buried with an abrader for making such bracelets (Vokes, 1987, p. 267). Male intervention in the circulation of Hohokam identity markers could thus have provided an important distinction in the avenues of power for men and women.

Ritual Performance Paraphernalia

Members of Hohokam society wore other marine shell ornaments throughout most of the chronological sequence; these included beads and pendants made of whole or cut-and-polished shell. Although whole shell beads and pendants are not nearly as abundant as bracelets in the archaeological record, they were not highly restricted in their circulation within Hohokam communities. Among many native North American societies, certain colors (i.e., white, red, blue, yellow, and black) are symbolically associated with specific dieties and/or directions (Riley, 1963; Wilcox, 1991). The widespread use of white marine shells in Hohokam society, therefore, was potentially charged with deep religious meaning (Wilcox, 1991).

Pendants and beads were fabricated into a variety of shapes and decorated with geometric patterns and Mexican-inspired iconography including snakes and birds of prey. Birds are commonly represented in Hohokam art, especially on painted ceramic vessels. Moreover, birds (eagles and ravens) sometimes accompany human burials in Hohokam archaeological sites (Bostwick and Downum, 1994, pp. 366–368). Some of the purposes of different birds among Southwestern societies include curing, rainmaking, and acquiring dream power (Tyler, 1979; Underhill, 1938, pp. 105–110). Since religious beliefs and symbolic representations of birds are common throughout native North America, their expression in Hohokam marine shell is not surprising.

Other stylized motifs that were applied to marine shell ornaments included frogs, tadpoles, lizards, insects, mammals, humans, and male genitalia (Jernigan,

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1978, pp. 48, 61). Frogs and toads native to the Sonoran Desert are particularly active after summer rains, and locales with standing water quickly become hatching grounds. The Hohokam surely noticed this phenomena and it is likely that shell frogs had a magical connection with water and agricultural fertility (Jernigan, 1978, p. 55; Mitchell, 1994, pp. 194–195). Ritual adornment with shell frogs and other motifs quite likely signaled participation and membership of Hohokam individuals in specific religious cults (see Wilcox, 1991, p. 57). The water-agricultural-fertility iconography of frogs, snakes, and birds echoed meanings materialized by shell bracelets and armlets with similar motifs. Various mammal and insect motifs are plausible markers or totems of descent group affiliation. Piman oral histories describe specific descent group totems including buzzards, coyotes, and ants (Bahr *et al.*, 1994).

Whole *Glycymeris* shells were also carved into highly stylized toads and circulated throughout the Hohokam regional system during the pre-Classic period. Their total number, however, was much lower than in the Classic period. The relatively widespread occurrence of shell toads—in a variety of contexts—does not indicate sumptuary restrictions on their consumption.

In contrast to whole shell beads and cut shell pendants, tinklers made from univalve *Conus* shells are most heavily concentrated on Classic period platform mounds and in their surrounding compounds (e.g., Bayman, 1996; Bradley and Rice, 1996, p. 593, 1997, p. 461; Griffith and McCartney, 1994, p. 803, Fig. 27.7; Fish *et al.*, 1992; McCartney, 1995, p. 351; Rice, 1998, p. 147). Unlike other marine shell ornaments, tinklers were evidently used to emit distinctive and highly audible sounds. When numerous tinkers are affixed to an article of clothing, they grate against one another when a person wearing them moves. Shell tinkers worn by Hopi and Zuni performers, for example, generate noises reminiscent of a gourd rattle. These shell ornaments were likely worn with ritual costumes in Hohokam society, as they are among some Native Americans even today. Pre-Columbian sculptures in Mesoamerica also depict tinklers about the body and on clothing (Vokes, 1988, p. 337).

Since *Conus* tinklers were used to adorn ritual costumes in the early historic period of the Greater Southwest and Mesoamerica, their use in Hohokam society should not be surprising. Sumptuary rules likely governed the use of shell tinklers among the Hohokam, since it appears that fewer people participated directly in the ritual dimensions of Sonoran Desert social life in the Classic period. Components of platform mound rituals were obscured from public view: they took place inside rooms atop mounds, or behind compound walls (e.g., Howard, 1992, p. 76).

Instruments of Power

Shell trumpets are relatively rare in the Hohokam archaeological record, compared to bracelets, armlets, and even tinklers. With regard to their function, shell trumpets were used to assemble community-wide gatherings in both

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Mesoamerica (Flannery, 1976, p. 235) and the North American Southwest (Parson, 1939). Among the historic Hopi and Zuni Indians, for example, shell trumpets were used by religious priests to mimic a "Water Serpent" deity on ceremonial occasions (Fewkes, 1896b, p. 366; Parsons, 1939; Teague, 1993, p. 449). Tohono O'odham and Hopi accounts both indicate that the Water Serpent deity controlled water and flooding (Teague, 1993, pp. 445–446).

Inventories of Hohokam marine shell artifacts reveal that trumpets were most commonly deposited with burials of individual males during the Pre-Classic period (Vokes, 1987). The association of shell trumpets with individuals signals their role as inalienable instruments of prestige and episodic power (*sensu* Mills, 2000, pp. 335–336; Weiner, 1992, p. 33), rather than as symbols of institutionalized office (Vokes, 1987, p. 269). Weiner's observation that "inalienable possessions" are symbolic repositories of genealogies and historical events that were ritually discarded, rather than desecrated by profane use like commodities exchange, is underscored by the placement of shell trumpets in pre-Classic period burials (Weiner, 1992, p. 33).

Interpretations of Classic period reorganization are also informed by the changing role of shell trumpets in Hohokam society. Classic period trumpets were instruments of an institutionalized "corporate" office, rather than symbols of power that centered on individualized networks. Classic period shell trumpets are rare in the archaeological record, and with a few exceptions (e.g., Bradley, 1997a, pp. 466–467, 1997b, p. 751), they were deposited in nonmortuary contexts on platform mounds and their nearby compounds, or in other ceremonial buildings (e.g., Bostwick, 1992, p. 79; Bradley and Rice, 1996, pp. 585–586; Griffith and McCartney, 1994, p. 802; Jacobs, 1992, p. 49; McCartney, 1995, p. 352; Nelson, 1991, p. 81; Vokes, 1987, p. 261). Their placement in contexts that were constructed by a group that was quite likely corporate in nature is a notable development in Hohokam society. This general pattern clearly contrasts with the Pre-Classic period (and Post-Classic period) when shell trumpets were usually interred in mortuary contexts with burials of individual males.

Those few cases when Classic period shell trumpets were interred with individuals, rather than with groups, were most frequent in the Hohokam periphery (e.g., Tonto Basin Salado). Do these instances reflect resistance by some individuals and their followers to Hohokam hegemony?

Insignia of Office

Certain kinds of pendants almost certainly served as insignia of office, given their distributions in the archaeological record. During the Pre-Classic period, for example, *Pecten vogdesi* shell pendants were concentrated in rich mortuary areas at Snaketown, Grewe, and Cashion (Nelson, 1991, p. 78). The presence of some *Pecten vogdesi* pendants in areas with high status burials and Mexican artifacts,

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including copper bells and tripod vessels (Nelson, 1991, p. 78), underscores the individualized nature of power among the Pre-Classic Hohokam. Hundreds of turquoise mosaic pieces recovered from Snaketown (Gladwin *et al.*, 1937, pp. 146–147) were also likely derived from insignia of office, much like *Pecten vogdesi* pendants.

In the Classic period, shell pendants with turquoise overlay were highly restricted, with only seven known for the Hohokam region (Nelson, 1991, p. 86). These artifacts were concentrated at Los Muertos (Haury, 1945), a probable platform mound site, and Casa Grande (Fewkes, 1912), a Great House site (Nelson, 1991, p. 86). Significantly, none of these artifacts were found in burials of individuals persons or in caches. This pattern signals a striking contrast from the Pre-Classic: in no case were Classic period turquoise artifacts found with Mesoamerican artifacts or in burials. These insignia of office mark a dramatic transfer of power from individual agents in the Pre-Classic period to corporate institutions in the Classic period.

The turquoise mosaic pendant recovered from Casa Grande represents a highly stylized frog (Jernigan, 1978, pp. 80–82). The meaningful association of frogs and toads with water is a powerful expression of leadership in Classic Hohokam society. The utility of such iconography to corporate leaders in Hohokam society is clear, given a pervasive concern with water symbolism among Southwestern and Mesoamerican societies. These insignia of office were, of course, used by individual Hohokam leaders during their reign. However, the fact that they were not buried with these individuals demonstrates the corporate organization of Classic period communities.

DISCUSSION

The conclusion that Classic period communities were governed by corporate institutions should not be taken to imply they were nameless/faceless bodies of democratic, egalitarian leadership. Piman Indian oral histories name specific agents of leadership in Hohokam society (Teague, 1993). These oral histories further note that chiefs and priests of some 37 different major Hohokam settlements, referred to as *Sivanyi*, interceded with various Wind and Rain gods (Hayden, 1935; Teague, 1993, p. 439). Chief "Morning Green" (*Siá-al Tcu-vtaki*), for example, lived at Casa Grande when it was overthrown by the Piman culture hero "Elder Brother" and his band of warriors. Chief Morning Green is regarded as a historic personage by Piman Indians according to Fewkes (1912, pp. 46–48) and he is referred to repeatedly in their oral traditions. Elder Brother's warriors were recruited from a disenfranchised population in the Sonoran and Chihuahuan Deserts.

Perhaps this political turmoil left its signature in the archaeological record of the so-called Polvoron phase? Polvoron is a local phase name (Fig. 4) used by some Southwestern archaeologists to denote a horizon that followed the Hohokam

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Classic period, and yet preceded the first entry of Spanish into Arizona. Along these lines, it is also commonly argued that this phase reflected a demise of platform mound religious beliefs and the "collapse" of Hohokam society (e.g., Chenault, 2000, p. 282).

Alternatively, Henderson and Hackbarth (2000, pp. 308–309) argue that Polvoron phase assemblages were *contemporaneous* with late Classic platform mounds. Moreover, they conclude that Polvoron houses, which were relatively impoverished, were left by transient agricultural laborers. These laborers, they surmise, were probably employed by affluent Hohokam who resided in compounds surrounding the platform mounds (Henderson and Hackbarth, 200, pp. 308–309). In any event, the Hohokam fled to Mexico after their overthrow, according to one interpretation of Piman oral history (Bahr *et al.*, 1994, pp. 320–321).

Notably, Elder Brother and his Piman warriors shared a language that was intelligible to their enemies—the "Jackrabbit Eaters" (i.e., Hohokam). The "Jackrabbit Eaters" were a subgroup of Hohokam society (Bahr *et al.*, 1994, p. 218). In spite of linguistic commonality, the Piman warriors and Jackrabbit Eaters were distinguished by different clothing (Hayden, 1935, p. 47; Russell, 1908; Teague, 1993, p. 443). This stylistic contrast in clothing may explain the disparity in marine shell ornament use and ceramic technological traditions that existed between the Classic period Hohokam and the postcontact Pimans. Although both groups traveled to the Gulf of California for salt and other resources, only the pre-Hispanic Hohokam used ornamental marine shell.

SUMMARY

Among the Hohokam in Southwest North America, elite intervention in the prestige goods economy fluctuated over time, within a worldview that emphasized water and fertility. Network-based systems of power, likely dominated by males, prevailed from ca. A.D. 700 to A.D. 1200. Archaeological research at Pre-Classic sites reveals that elite males were buried with conch shell trumpets and turquoise mosaic pendants. The symbolic utility of marine shell bracelets and armlets was never strongly contested in Hohokam society, and they endured as material symbols of social membership and identity, until the termination of the developmental sequence sometime after A.D. 1450.

Following the inception of the Classic period ca. A.D. 1200, offices of corporate power were institutionalized and replaced individual agents for nearly three centuries. Community leaders were not commonly buried with marine shell trumpets and turquoise mosaic pendants. The alienation of community leaders from these portable symbols of power at death underscored the corporate nature of Classic Hohokam society. The "alienation" of leaders from these symbols of power should not be confused with the potential—and as yet undocumented—alienation of producers from the means of production.

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Determining whether (or not) Hohokam community leaders functioned as "communal agents" (Fish *et al.*, 1992, p. 68; see also Saitta, 1994) of a "reverse dominance hierarchy" (i.e., Boehm, 1993) is a question that requires further development in archaeological theory and interpretation. Although the specific nature of corporate power in Hohokam society remains unknown, elite men and women both had roles in this overarching institution, and they were buried together atop some large platform mounds like Pueblo Grande in the latter part of the Classic period. Their common membership in a corporate society, even in death, was signified by their interment with marine shell bracelets and armlets. As I noted earlier, Piman oral histories indicate that a "class struggle" or "ethnic war," of sorts, ensued near the end of the Hohokam sequence.

After the demise of Hohokam society, and shortly before direct European contact in the mid-sixteenth century, Sonoran Desert leadership reverted to a system that once again emphasized individual male agents. Elite males were no longer alienated from the material symbols of their power; at least one such male was buried with a conch shell trumpet (Vokes, 1987). Like their counterparts of the Pre-Classic period, power wielded by these solitary agents was highly situational and contingent, and reflected fluctuations in individual fortunes over time.

Following Spanish colonization of the Sonoran Desert after A.D. 1540, ideological meanings that were once materialized in the traditional craft economy were undermined by the introduction of Christianity and an emerging cash economy. The symbolic utility of marine shell ornaments was thus diminished, and they were no longer a component of the indigenous worldview and system of social reproduction. For these and other reasons, nineteenth century Pimans did not follow the precontact Hohokam custom of manufacturing and using marine shell ornaments.

CONCLUSION

The Prestige Goods Economy Model must be refined by identifying the varied roles and meanings of social valuables, and by identifying the specific processes that lay behind their utility in acquiring and maintaining power in middle-range societies. This paper has reviewed patterns in the distribution and types of marine shell recovered from Hohokam sites in the Pre-Classic and Classic periods. It has argued that past attempts to interpret prestige goods economies in Hohokam archaeology have yielded contradictory results, due in large part to the conflation of social valuables with different meanings. This failure in Hohokam research to identify the specific archaeological signatures of power is due also to an emphasis on searching for economic, rather than social, expressions of wealth and inequality. Power in Hohokam society may well have emanated from rituals where marine shell bracelets—a marker of group membership and identity—were imbued with critical meanings.

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New approaches for interpreting the ideologies that governed the varied the roles and meanings of social valuables must be developed in archaeology. Examining their contexts of use is a time-honored, yet underutilized approach to identifying the meanings of social valuables in middle-range societies. Application of this approach promises to strengthen and enrich our interpretations of underlying dimensions of agency in past political economies. Among the Hohokam, at least, power was materialized through ideologies that imbued craft economies with meanings vital to social reproduction.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Victoria Vargas organized the symposium entitled "Beyond a Prestige Goods Economy: Social Valuables, Power, and Agency," at the 66th Annual Meeting of SAA, and I greatly appreciate her invitation to participate. Norman Yoffee and Marcia-Anne Dobres provided thought-provoking comments on the SAA presentation. Comments on a revised draft of the paper were provided by Cathy Cameron, Charlie Cobb, John Douglas, Jim Skibo, and Miriam Stark. I have also benefited from countless discussions over the years with Arthur Vokes concerning the archaeology of marine shell. I am, however, solely responsible for any and all shortcomings in my point of view and perspective.

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